LUCIAL LIEUMA COMMISSION FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION 1 SECRETARIAT 2 999 E Street, N.W. 3 Washington, D.C. 20463 2006 AUG 10 P 2: 45 4 FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT 5 **SENSITIVE** 6 7 PRE-MUR: 433 DATE RECEIVED: February 9, 2006 8 April 17, 2006 9 DATE ACTIVATED: 10 11 **EXPIRATION OF SOL:** February 4, 2008 12 13 **SOURCE:** 14 15 Fieger, Fieger, Kenney & Johnson, P.C. **RESPONDENTS:** 16 17 Current and former Fieger law firm attorneys: 18 Geoffrey Nels Fieger 19 Vernon R. Johnson 20 Todd J. Weglarz 21 Rebecca S. Walsh 22 Arnold J. Matusz 23 Paul W. Broschay 24 Robert M. Giroux 25 Jeffrey A. Danzig 26 Lloyd G. Johnson 27 James J. Harrington, IV 28 Tammy J. Reiss 29 Victor S. Valenti 30 Joseph Bird 31 W. J. McHenry 32 Jack Beam, Of Counsel 33 34 Other Fieger law firm employees: 35 Thomas E. Baulch, Building Manager 36 Anna Huhta, Courier Supervisor 37 Jill Brandana, Legal Assistant 38 Jeffrey Cope, Project Manager 39 Eric Donahue, Info Systems Manager 40 Nancy Fisher, Office Manager 41 Stephen A. Hnat, Jury Consultant 42 Ann Marie Keith, Bookkeeper 43 Michaelene Sowinski, Paralegal 44 45

Pre-MUR 433 First General Counsel's Report Page 2

| 1  |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 2  |  | Family members of current or former Fieger law       |
| 3  |  | firm attorneys and employees:                        |
| 4  |  | Kathleen Fieger                                      |
| 5  |  | Laura Bird   |
| 6  |  | Jessica Broschay                                     |
| 7  |  | Laura Broschay                                       |
| 8  |  | Wendy Danzig   |
| 9  |  | Chad Johnson   |
| 10 |  | Sean Johnson   |
| 11 |  | Sherry Giroux  |
| 12 |  | Erin Kenney  |
| 13 |  | Matthew Kenney                                       |
| 14 |  | Susan Kenney   |
| 15 |  | Darlene Matusz                                       |
| 16 |  | M. A. McHenry  |
| 17 |  | Ronald J. Walsh                                      |
| 18 |  | Christine Weglarz                                    |
| 19 |  | Rosa Bava-Valenti                                    |
| 20 |  | Renee Beam   |
| 21 |  | Shalina Kumar  |
| 22 |  | Theresa Santoli                                      |
| 23 |  | Ronald Brandana                                      |
| 24 |  | Jason J. Sowinski                                    |
| 25 |  |  |
| 26 | RELEVANT STATUTES  | 2 U.S.C. § 441b                                      |
| 27 | AND REGULATIONS:   | 2 U.S.C. § 441f                                      |
| 28 |  | 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)                                 |
| 29 |  | •  |
| 30 | INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED:  | Disclosure Reports and FEC Contributor Data Base     |
| 31 |  | •  |
| 32 | FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED:  | U.S. Department of Justice, Public Integrity Section |
| 33 |  |  |
| 34 | I. <u>INTRODUCTION</u>   |  |
| 35 | On February 9, 2006, the C   | Commission received a somewhat unusual               |
| 36 | submission from counsel representing the   | law firm of Fieger, Fieger, Kenney & Johnson, P.C.   |
| 37 | ("the Firm") of Southfield, Michigan. According to the submission, the FBI and Department of |  |
| 38 | Justice ("DOJ") are investigating whether  | the Firm made contributions to John Edwards for      |
| 39 | President ("the Edwards committee") thro   | ough conduits. The Firm does not directly admit or   |

deny that it did this; rather, its counsel expresses his confidence that "an objective investigation

would exonerate the firm of any wrongdoing." Attachment 1 at 2. Consequently, the Firm's

3 counsel invites the Commission to conduct its own investigation of whether the Firm made

4 conduit contributions. The Firm's counsel indicates that, should the Commission find probable

5 cause, the Firm would be interested in pursuing conciliation so that it may be weighed as a

mitigating factor, pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g(d)(3), by a federal court in imposing a criminal

sentence.

6

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

18

19

The Firm's letter states that "[t]he FBI has already executed a search warrant of the firm's offices" and "the United States Attorney's office has subpoenaed many members of the firm to give grand jury testimony." Attachment 1 at 1. According to a media report, the FBI and IRS "seized corporate records from Fieger's law firm during a Nov. 30 search," and the grand jury "has subpoenaed more than 20 lawyers, employees, relatives and associates of Fieger."

David Shepardson, *Testimony Starts in U.S. Jury Probe of Fieger*, DETROIT NEWS, Jan. 25, 2006.

As reported by another paper, the investigation "is being directed out of the Justice Department's

15 Public Integrity Section," and was "prompted by tips from people associated with Fieger's law

16 firm." David Ashenfelter and Joe Swickard, Fieger: I'm a Victim, Not a Criminal, DETROIT

17 Free Press, Dec. 2, 2005.

The letter is premised on the mistaken belief that DOJ cannot pursue charges against it (and others) until after the Commission conducts its own investigation. The Firm's counsel

Soon after receiving the letter, this Office contacted the Firm's counsel by telephone to request further information and documentation regarding the pending criminal investigation. Though the Firm's counsel initially agreed to provide more information, he later declined to do so, and has not communicated further with this Office. Therefore, given the Firm's decision not to cooperate further and the lack of any admission of misconduct,

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

asserts that "[t]he conciliation process is a critical precursor to any criminal prosecution 1 involving campaign contribution laws." Attachment 1 at 2. Although the Act endows the 2 Commission with exclusive civil jurisdiction, and provides mechanisms for the Commission to 3 refer or report matters to the DOJ, it nowhere makes the DOJ's exclusive jurisdiction over 4 5 criminal enforcement of the Act dependent on prior action by the Commission. Moreover, while a defendant's compliance with a conciliation agreement between the defendant and the 6 Commission shall be taken into account by a court in criminal proceedings and sentencing, see 7 2 U.S.C. § 437g(d)(2) and (3), the U.S. Sentencing Guidelines explicitly state that such a factor 8 is not taken into account where "the defendant began negotiations toward a conciliation 9 agreement after becoming aware of a criminal investigation," as would be the case here. U.S. 10

SENTENCING GUIDELINES MANUAL § 5E1.2 (2005).

As explained below, publicly available information indicates that there is a factual basis for the Commission to accept the Firm's invitation to investigate this matter. Accordingly, we recommend that the Commission open a MUR; find reason to believe that the Firm and two of its officers knowingly and willfully violated the Act in connection with contributions made to the Edwards committee; find reason to believe that 43 other individuals who may have been conduits for contributions to the Edwards committee from the Firm violated the Act; and authorize an investigation.

This Office has consulted with DOJ's Public Integrity Section to confirm that there is currently a "very active investigation" into the Firm's campaign contributions. DOJ is unable to provide an estimated timetable as to completion of is inquiry. We will continue to consult with

- 1 DOJ regarding the status of their investigation and advise the Commission as to the prospects for
- 2 an expedited global resolution as such information becomes available.

## 3 II. FACTS

5

8

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

Fieger, Fieger, Kenney & Johnson, P.C. is a professional corporation, with Geoffrey N.

Fieger listed as President, and both Vernon R. Johnson and Jeremiah J. Kenney listed as Vice

6 Presidents. Commission records reflect that all 16 of the attorneys currently employed by the

7 Firm, or employed by the Firm at the time of their contribution, as well as 30 other individuals

who appear to be former Firm attorneys, current non-lawyer employees, and family members of

9 current or former Firm attorneys and non-lawyers employees contributed to the Edwards

committee in 2003.<sup>2</sup> Of these 46 contributors, 36 contributed the individual maximum amount of

\$2,000 on one of three days, March 30, 31 or June 30, 2003. Further, 34 of these 46 contributors

have no previous record of contributing to any Federal campaign. Thus, it appears that

individuals associated with the Firm made \$93,500 in contributions to the Edwards committee in

2003. See Charts of Fieger Law Firm and Related Contributions (Attachment 2).

According to news accounts, the Federal criminal investigation stems from allegations made by Joseph Bird, a former attorney at the firm. Sarah Karush, Lawyer Says Fieger Partner Told Him to Contribute to Edwards Campaign, DETROIT NEWS, Dec. 3, 2005. Approximately two weeks after Mr. Bird joined the Firm in 2003, Vernon Johnson, a named partner and vice president of the Firm, allegedly told Mr. Bird that "he was expected to give to the Edwards

20

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The potential amount in violation includes a \$2,000 contribution from Jeremiah Joseph Kenney, a named partner of the Firm. We are making no recommendation regarding Mr. Kenney, who passed away in April 2005, but we are including the amount of his contribution in the total amount that might have been reimbursed.

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

campaign." Id. Bird claims that he brought in two \$2,000 checks, one from him and one from

- -:

2 his wife, the next day, and that he received a reimbursement check for \$4,000 two days later. Id.

3 The same news report states that Johnson denies the incident with Bird, and named partner,

4 Geoffrey Fieger, claims Bird is a disgruntled former employee seeking revenge against the Firm.

5 Id. Another news report, however, quoted Mr. Fieger as asserting that he gave bonuses to so-

6 called "civic-minded employees" (without explanation as to the meaning of that term), and that

he expected a grand jury indictment based on those bonuses. Joe Swickard, Fieger: I Expect To

8 Be Indicted, DETROIT FREE PRESS, Jan. 17, 2006.

The Firm's submission does not confirm, deny or make any substantive representation as to the allegations attributed to Mr. Bird in press reports.

## III. <u>LEGAL ANALYSIS</u>

## A. 441f Violations

If the Firm reimbursed contributions to the Edwards committee, then the Firm and the conduit contributors may have violated the Act. The Act prohibits any person from making or accepting a contribution in the name of another person. Likewise, persons are prohibited from knowingly permitting their names to be used to effect contributions made in the name of another person and from knowingly assisting in making such contributions. 2 U.S.C. § 441f; 11 C.F.R. § 110.4(b)(1)(iii).

The circumstances of this matter establish a basis for the Commission to find reason to believe and investigate. First, a former Firm attorney reportedly made specific allegations to Federal authorities that the Firm reimbursed campaign contributions to the Edwards committee from him and his wife. Second, although members of the firm denied Mr. Bird's allegations in

7

8

9

10

11

12

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

statements to the press, such denials are not repeated or adopted in the Firm's submission. Third,

2 Mr. Fieger reportedly said in reference to the allegations that he gave "bonuses" to "civic-

3 minded employees." Fourth, the Commission's records show a large number of maximum

4 contributions made on the same days by individuals associated with the Firm, many of whom

5 had never previously contributed to any Federal campaign. While the making of multiple

contributions on the same day is not a sufficient basis in and of itself to establish reason to

believe, it is relevant evidence that must considered in connection with other circumstances, such

as those present in this matter. Fifth, the Firm's letter acknowledges that the Commission may

conclude there is probable cause to believe that it committed violations of the Act. Finally, there

is an ongoing criminal investigation regarding these allegations.

form of "bonuses" for their campaign contributions.

.- <del>-</del>.

Due to the inherently deceptive nature of conduit schemes, some of the respondents may have committed knowing and willful violations of the Act. See 2 U.S.C. §§ 437g(a)(5)(B) and 437g(d). The knowing and willful standard requires knowledge that one is violating the law. See Federal Election Commission v. John A. Dramesi for Congress Committee, 640 F. Supp. 985, 987 (D.N.J. 1986). A knowing and willful violation may be established "by proof that the defendant acted deliberately and with knowledge that the representation was false." United States v. Hopkins, 916 F.2d 207, 214 (5th Cir. 1990). An inference of a knowing and willful act may be drawn "from the defendant's elaborate scheme for disguising" his or her actions. Id. at 214-15. Accordingly, the Firm, Mr. Fieger, and Mr. Johnson may have committed knowing and willful violations of the Act by devising and carrying out an illegal and inherently deceptive reimbursement scheme which included reimbursing employees and their family members in the

15

Pre-MUR 433 First General Counsel's Report Page 8

- Based on all of the above, we recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that
- Fieger, Fieger, Kenney & Johnson, P.C., Geoffrey Nels Fieger, and Vernon R. Johnson
- 3 knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f.
- We also recommend that the Commission find reason to believe that the following
- 5 individuals associated with the Firm violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f in connection with their possible
- 6 participation as conduits in a reimbursement scheme: Todd J. Weglarz, Rebecca S. Walsh,
- 7 Arnold J. Matusz, Paul W. Broschay, Robert M. Giroux, Jeffrey A. Danzig, Lloyd G. Johnson,
- 8 James J. Harrington, IV, Tammy J. Reiss, Victor S. Valenti, Joseph Bird, W. J. McHenry, Jack
- 9 Beam, Thomas E. Baulch, Anna Huhta, Jill Brandana, Jeffrey Cope, Eric Donahue, Nancy
- 10 Fisher, Stephen A. Hnat, Ann Marie Keith, Michaelene Sowinski, Kathleen Fieger, Laura Bird,
- Jessica Broschay, Laura Broschay, Wendy Danzig, Chad Johnson, Sean Johnson, Sherry Giroux,
- 12 Erin Kenney, Matthew Kenney, Susan Kenney, Darlene Matusz, M. A. McHenry, Ronald J.
- Walsh, Christine Weglarz, Rosa Bava-Valenti, Renee Beam, Shalina Kumar, Theresa Santoli,
- 14 Ronald Brandana, and Jason J. Sowinski.

## B. 441b Violations

- Section 441b(a) of the Act prohibits corporations from making contributions or
- 17 expenditures from their general treasury funds in connection with any Federal election, and also
- prohibits any officer from consenting to any contribution or expenditure by the corporation.
- 19 Thus, in addition to facing potential liability for making contributions in the name of another,
- 20 because the firm is an incorporated entity, and Mr. Fieger and Mr. Johnson as officers reportedly
- 21 played important roles in the alleged reimbursement scheme, we also recommend that the
- 22 Commission find reason to believe that Fieger, Fieger, Kenney, & Johnson, PC, as well as

18

| •  | Geometry New Pieger and Vernon R. Johnson, knowingly and willfully violated section 441b(a)        |
|----|--|
| 2  | of the Act, by making and consenting, respectively, to prohibited corporate contributions.         |
| 3  | C. Edwards Committee   |
| 4  | Thus far we have not located any information indicating that the Edwards committee                 |
| 5  | knew at the time of receipt that it may have received prohibited contributions. According to a     |
| 6  | press report, the Committee claims it "learned about the federal investigation through news        |
| 7  | reports," the Edwards campaign "went above and beyond legal requirements for campaign              |
| 8  | finance compliance," and "expected [Edwards'] supporters to adhere to the same standards."         |
| 9  | Sarah Karush, Lawyer Says Fieger Partner Told Him to Contribute to Edwards Campaign,               |
| 10 | DETROIT NEWS, Dec. 3, 2005. Accordingly, this Office makes no recommendations at this time         |
| 11 | with respect to the Edwards committee. Should we obtain evidence indicating that the Edwards       |
| 12 | committee violated the Act, we will make appropriate recommendations at a later time. <sup>3</sup> |
| 13 |  |
| 14 |  |
| 15 |  |
| 16 |  |

Disclosure reports filed by the Edwards committee show that it returned \$4,000 in contributions to Joseph and Laura Bird on December 27, 2005, soon after Mr. Bird's allegations that he and his wife were reimbursed by the Fieger law firm were first reported by the news media. There is no indication that the Edwards committee refunded or disgorged any other contributions from individuals associated with the Firm. If additional information emerges from the criminal or Commission investigations, the Edwards committee may be obligated to make additional refunds. See 11 C.F.R. § 103.3(b)(2) (if at the time a contribution was received a committee determines that it did not appear to be made in the name of another, but later discovers that it is illegal based on new evidence not available at the time of receipt, the treasurer must refund the contribution within thirty days of the date on which the illegality was discovered).

Pre-MUR 433
First General Counsel's Report
Page 10

ı 2 3 5 6 7 V. 8 **RECOMMENDATIONS** 9 1. Open a MUR; 10 2. Find reason to believe that Fieger, Fieger, Kenney & Johnson, P.C., Geoffrey Nels 11 12 Fieger, and Vernon R. Johnson knowingly and willfully violated 2 U.S.C. §§ 441b 13 and 441f; 14 3. Find reason to believe that the following individuals violated 2 U.S.C. § 441f: Todd 15 J. Weglarz, Rebecca S. Walsh, Arnold J. Matusz, Paul W. Broschay, Robert M. 16 Giroux, Jeffrey A. Danzig, Lloyd G. Johnson, James J. Harrington, IV, Tammy J. 17 Reiss, Victor S. Valenti, Joseph Bird, W. J. McHenry, Jack Beam, Thomas E. Baulch, 18 Anna Huhta, Jill Brandana, Jeffrey Cope, Eric Donahue, Nancy Fisher, Stephen A. 19 Hnat, Ann Marie Keith, Michaelene Sowinski, Kathleen Fieger, Laura Bird, Jessica 20 Broschay, Laura Broschay, Wendy Danzig, Chad Johnson, Sean Johnson, Sherry 21 Giroux, Erin Kenney, Matthew Kenney, Susan Kenney, Darlene Matusz, M. A. 22 23 McHenry, Ronald J. Walsh, Christine Weglarz, Rosa Bava-Valenti, Renee Beam, Shalina Kumar, Theresa Santoli, Ronald Brandana, and Jason J. Sowinski; 24 25 4. Approve the attached Factual and Legal Analyses;<sup>4</sup> 26 27 5. 28 29 6. Approve the appropriate letters. 30 31 32

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> We have attached the Factual and Legal Analyses for the Firm, Geoffrey Nels Fieger, and Vernon R. Johnson, and a sample Factual and Legal Analysis for conduits that we intend to send to the other respondents, changing only their names on the respondent line and in the recitation of the Commission's finding.

| 1        | 9/10/06 | Zen 2215                               |
|----------|---------|--|
| 2        | Date    | Lawrence H. Norton                     |
| 3        | 24.0    | General Counsel                        |
| 4        |         |  |
| 5        |         |  |
| 6        |         | XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX |
| 7        |         | aurine (all.                           |
| 8        |         | Lawrence L. Calvert, Jr.               |
| 9        |         | Deputy Associate General Counsel       |
| 10       |         | for Enforcement                        |
| 11       |         |  |
| 12       |         | 21/10/4                                |
| 13       |         | W / Y / P · ()                         |
| 14       |         | I'm shite                              |
| 15       |         | Mark Shonkwiler                        |
| 16       |         | Assistant General Counsel              |
| 17       |         | _                                      |
| 18       |         |  |
| 19       |         | lad Pala                               |
| 20       |         | may 102                                |
| 21       |         | Audra L. Wassom                        |
| 22       |         | Attorney                               |
| 23<br>24 |         |  |
| 24<br>25 |         |  |
| 25<br>26 |         |  |
| 20<br>27 |         |  |
| 28       |         |  |
| 29       |         |  |
| 30       | ;<br>   |  |
| 31       |         |  |
| 32       | I       |  |
|          | :       |  |